THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

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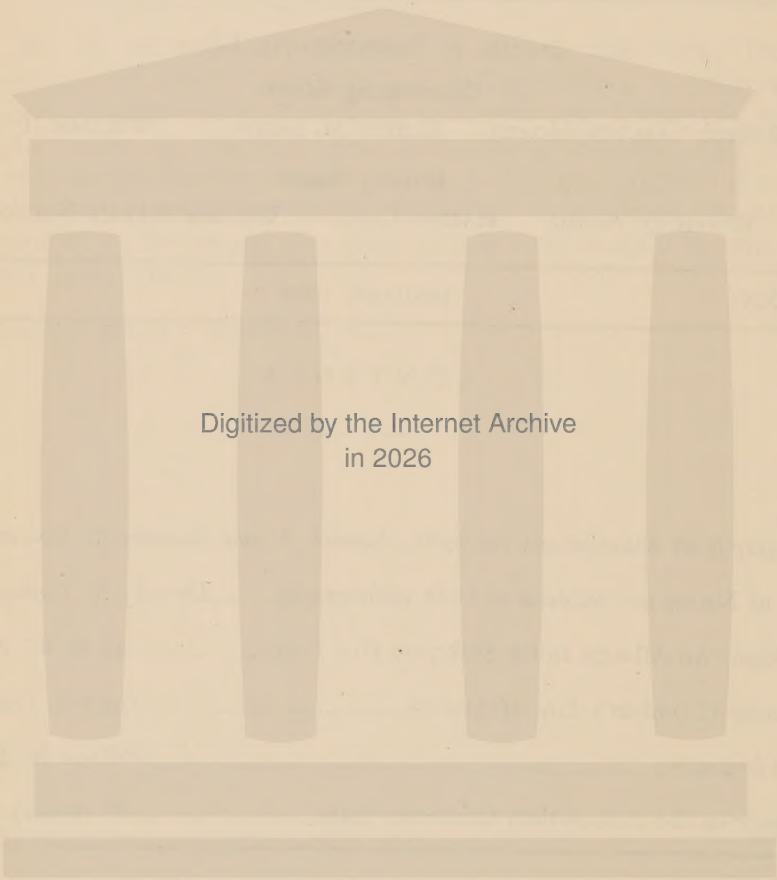

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1945)

Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM
and
DOROTHY R. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books in the N. Y. Public Library and in the library of Columbia University, is a continuation of those published in the January issues of this Bulletin for some years past. Only those items have been listed which we thought contributed a new idea or a new fact. The names of female writers, if known, are distinguished by a colon after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year of publication is mentioned in connection with an item, 1945 is to be understood. The discussion of a book, as opposed to an edition, is indicated by printing the title within single quotes and omitting 'ed' after the contributor's name. The following abbreviations have been employed:

Amer	—American
Archiv	—Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
Bei	—Beiblatt zur Anglia
bib	—bibliography
Bll	—Blätter
Bn	—Boston
CE	—College English
comps	—compilers
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
d	—der, die, das, dem, &c.
DNS	—Die neueren Sprachen
dt	—deutsch, &c.
ed(d)	—editor(s)
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Elizn	—Elizabethan
Engl	—English, englische, &c.
ES	—Englische Studien
fr	—from
GR	—Germanic Review
Hist	—History, Historie, Histoire
HLQ	—Huntington Library Quarterly
HUP	—Harvard University Press
il(s)	—illustration(s)
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English & Germanic Philology
JHI	—Journal of the History of Ideas
Lang	—Language
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLQ	—Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	—Modern Language Review
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes & Queries
NSN	—New Statesman & Nation
OUP	—Oxford University Press
Oxf	—Oxford
P	—Press
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n of America
port(s)	—portrait(s)
p.p.	—privately printed
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Pr	—Proceedings
Q	—Quarterly
R	—Review, Revue
Repr	—Reprinted, reprints
RES	—Review of English Studies
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere, &c
Shn	—Shaksperian
SP	—Studies in Philology
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement
trn	—translation
u	—und
U	—University
UP	—University Press

ACTING, ACTORS

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MIDDLETON: AN ALLUSION TO THE SHAKSPERE FIRST FOLIO?

By G. P. V. Akrigg

Printed in most editions of *The Duchess of Malfi* are the commendatory verses written by Thomas Middleton, "In the just Worth, of that well Deserver, Mr. John Webster, and Upon this Maister-peece of Tragoedy."

The opening lines read:

> In this Thou imitat'st one Rich, and Wise,
> That sees His Good Deedes done before he dies;
> As He by Workes, Thou by this Worke of Fame,
> Hast well provided for thy Living Name;
> To trust to others Honorings, is Worth's Crime,
> Thy Monument is rais'd in thy Life Time; . . .

In paraphrase, Middleton says something like this:

> You, John Webster, are like a wise man of wealth who makes sure of his posthumous reputation by performing his charities personally during his lifetime, instead of trusting to his executors to attend to them after his death. By personally attending to the publicaion of *The Duchess of Malfi,* you are assuring literary immortality for yourself. It is a crime for men of ability to trust that others will attend to their honour by undertaking such enterprises for them after they have died. You do not wait until after death for the publishing of the book which is to be your monument.

It is fitting, however conventional, that such emphasis upon properly assuring fame after death should be put into these verses addressed to Webster, whose mind was so fascinated by the paradoxes of man and mortality. Has this emphasis, however, no more immediate relevance? Such a revelance, though hitherto apparently unnoted, is, I believe, suggested when we recall that *The Duchess of Malfi* was published in 1623, the year in which Condell and Hemming published the Shakspere First Folio, regretting his "not having the fate, common to some, to be executor to his owne writings."

Certain facts deserve consideration. Both Middleton and Webster could hardly have escaped knowing Shakspere personally; both borrowed from his work. *The* Dec. 16th, 1614. Set in the list of the original actors is the *Duchess of Malfi* itself has interesting Shaksperian associations. It was produced at the Globe by the King's men, the date of its original performance being previous to

name of Henry Condell, subsequently one of the folio editors.

We have no record of just when, in 1623, *The Duchess of Malfi* was published, but the point is hardly material. The First Folio was registered with the Stationers' Company on November 8th, but work on assembling and editing the text must have been going on for months previously—according to Willoughby probably since 1621.

Seen against this background, Middleton's verses may be allowed to acquire some special significance. What is more likely than that Middleton, sitting down to write a few lines for his friend Webster now presenting the world, at last, with "the perfect and exact Coppy" of his great play, should find himself thinking of the difficulty of getting an unmutilated text for Shakspere? The contrast between the two publications impresses Middleton and he proceeds to felicitate his friend upon his foresight. "Thy Monument is rais'd in thy Life Time."

It is, of course, pure conjecture, but having once read Middleton's lines as containing reference to the Folio, one may take them as also having been written with knowledge of Webster's own motive for publication. Proudly insistent that his plays were "poems" not lightly to be dismissed, Webster may well have taken to heart the lessons implicit in the spectacle of the First Folio's inception, and decided to set about the personally supervised publication of unprinted works of his own. Such a decision would explain why Webster should, in 1623, publish both *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The Devils Law-Case,* after a ten years period during which, to our knowledge, he had committed nothing to print.

If we take Middleton's verses as containing regret for what Shakspere had lost by not personally publishing his complete works ("To trust to others Honorings, is Worth's Crime"), we have in these lines, apart from Jonson's famous poem, the only record of the response made by a contemporary dramtist to the publication of the First Folio.

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ALEXANDER C. JUDSON'S *LIFE OF SPENSER*

By Louis S. Friedland

The measure of a new book can often be taken by comparison with an old one on the same subject. The handsomely printed volume before us, corresponding in format with its mates in the excellent Spenser Variorum Edition (Johns Hopkins University Press), recalls the biography published sixty-six years ago by R. W. Church, one time Dean of St. Paul's, exactly three centuries after the first appearance of the *Shepheardes Calender*. What progress, then, in Spenser biography, and what fresh approaches and methods of study does the new *Life* reveal?

Church's slender volume consists of six chapters: Spenser's Early Life, The New Poet, Spenser in Ireland, The First Part of the *Faerie Queene,* The *Faerie Queene,* and Spenser's Last Years. Writing before the era of painstaking research in archives, parish and church registers, and state-papers, ushered in by Grosart and continued in our time by Welply, Hamer, Heffner, Dr. Judson, and others, Dean Church contented himself with the broad outline of Spenser's story. He had scant data at his disposal and so fell back on the poet's works, from which he sought to derive and present a portrait-sketch of an artistic and creative personality.

Dr. Judson's task is somewhat different in nature. Confronted with the accretion of six decades of research, opinion, and speculation, he needed to weigh the evidence, judge the worth of conflicting views, and scrutinize the theories. Very wisely Dr. Judson aims at exactitude; he prefers to set down the ascertained facts, however few, rather than pad his pages with an imposing and "learned" array of more or less ingenious suppositions. He refuses, for example, to record the idle and sometimes preposterous "recognitions" of contemporary figures disguised as Clarion, Muscaroll, and Aragnoll in *Muiopotmos* or as Husbandman, the Oak, and the Brier in the February Eclogue, or as sundry animals in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (except to affirm that "Reynold is easily identified with Burghley." Page 69). Nevertheless, human like the rest of us, he can-

not refrain now and then, but not often, from expressing a predilection as between two equally unsure alternatives. His account of Spenser's boyhood in London, of the youthful sports as retailed in the December Eclogue is fanciful and speculative; the passage is admittedly translated from Marot's *Eglogue au Roy* and can hardly be considered as imbued with the spirit of Spenser's own early days. We need to go to other sources for a truer picture of children's life in the London of the 1560's; generalizations drawn from these would, it seems to me, be more cogent than the conventional and borrowed games and activities described in the last Eclogue.

What is the net gain derived from the many years of research in Spenser biography? Surprisingly little for the period covered by Church's first two chapters. Like his predecessor, Dr. Judson opens his biography with a discussion of Spenser's presumed kinship with the Spencers of Althorp. The account of this Northern family is far more detailed than Church's brief allusion to the three Spencer sisters upon whom the poet conferred honor and fame, and whose marital alliances are here enumerated in full. (According to all the authorities, including the writer of the notice on Thomas Egerton, Viscount Brackley and Lord Ellesmere, in the *DNB,* Alice Spencer was his *third* wife, and not the second as Dr. Judson erroneously states, page 6). It may now be considered beyond peradventure that *Amyntas* of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* was her first husband, Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange and, later, the Earl of Derby.

For the rest, not only do most of the old uncertainties remain but to them a few new ones are added, since it is the province of scholarly research to discredit unfounded data as well as to discover fresh facts. Thus, East Smithfield can no longer be fixed with assurance as the vicinage of Spenser's birth, a real loss of the sentimental sort. The identity of "Rosalind" is still a riddle unsolved; the light thrown on Spenser's relations with Sidney and Leicester gives little fresh illumination, and Dr. Judson rejects out of hand the possibility that Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton, who may have been connected with the Spencers of

Althorp, was the poet's earliest patron and, as such, not likely to require the good offices of Sidney or Leicester in the acquisition of a secretary for duty in Ireland. Nothing is said about the little group of poets and scholars, including Gascoigne and Turbervile who enjoyed the patronage of Grey, nor is Gascoigne, to whose major poems Spenser owed a greater indebtedness than is generally admitted, accorded a single mention in Judson's *Life*. Of Spenser's relations with Bishop Young of Rochester, to our knowledge of which Dr. Judson has himself contributed so much, the account is held to the proven facts. Our biographer accepts without question the not unlikely identification of "Diggon Davie" (in the *Calender*) with Richard Davies, the Welsh Bishop of St. David's. Of the other "prelates" in the ecclesiastical Eclogues not much is revealed. On page 52 the sequestration of Archbishop Grindal (Algrind) is said to have been due to his failure to forbid the practice of "prophesying," but the "prophesyings" are interpreted as "clerical conferences on the Scriptures." Were they not much more than this, and different as well? Surely the contemporary trials and convictions of Separatists for the crime of unauthorized "prophesyings" call for a less restricted meaning to be attached to the term.

The indefatigable research has in late years brought to light one of Spenser's sisters, Sarah, and the name of her husband. In 1878 Dean Church could not have known that Spenser was twice married and that he had at least two children by his first wife and at least one by his second. On the other hand, it seems that we cannot consider as beyond doubt that it was our Edmund Spenser who married in 1579 Machabyas Chylde, and so this other or "altered" Rosalind vanishes from the scene for the nonce. Despite the baker's dozen of studies concerning the authorship of the *Shepheardes Calender* Glosses and of the identity of E. K., the matter remains a mystery, though the consensus of modern opinion leans towards Spenser himself as the Glossarist.

Altogether, Dr. Judson's wheat-gathering from the investigations instituted by a host of scholars in the last sixty-odd years is not conducive to gratulation. Not that the

labors have proved utterly fruitless, but that the sum total of the findings, as contributions to a biography of the poet, are slim and of no great moment. The query comes to mind whether or not the scholarly energies have always been wisely and effectively directed. It is conceivable, of course, that a further search of old documents may bring forth a few particulars of biographical point and value. But while one is not so rash as to counsel a discontinuance of this type of investigation, one is justified, perhaps, in expressing the hope that the other avenues of approach to Spenser and his time will hereafter be vouchsafed adequate traffic. Towards that end the many missing links in the first section of Dr. Judson's biography are highly suggestive. I set down a few of the important problems which have received either slight attention or none at all, or which have not been brought into proper relation with the career and figure of Spenser.

The biography before us would profit by a chapter or two portraying Spenser against the backdrop of his age: England and London in their historical, social, literary, religious, intellectual and artistic aspects. One notes that in Dr. Judson's volume the question of Spenser's religious views is pretty much neglected,—the term "Puritanism" does not appear in the Index. As for the literary environment, it scarcely exists in the book. No one expects a comprehensive treatment of the classical, mediaeval, and French and Italian influences revealed in Spenser's works, and we are very happy to do without a discussion of analogues, parallels, and remote, secondary, and direct sources. Material of this sort is properly relegated to the companion-volumes of the Variorum Edition. Yet the placing of Spenser in the midstream of the literary and intellectual life of his age may well be held a task which the biographer ought not to shirk. That Dr. Judson goes to the extreme of abnegation in this particular is evidenced by his limiting himself to three or four bare mentions of Chaucer. A Life of Spenser should by all means give sufficient heed to the merging in the poet of the mediaeval and the Renaissance,—a true clue to Spenser's personality.

The curriculum of studies in the Merchant Taylor's

School, the text-books used, the rhetorics in especial with their emphasis on figured speech and the modes of recognizing and developing the literary genres, the contents of the School Library—a list as of the year 1599 is published in the *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society of London,* —the pedagogical methods, the stress laid upon imitative writing and on translating, "latins" in particular,—these and allied topics call for a thorough study in conjunction with Spenser, something like that devoted to Shakspere's "small Latine and lesse Greeke" by Professor T. W. Baldwin. How much of value is to be gleaned from the text-book commentaries by Camerarius and other editors! Were not the studies, texts, and methods at Cambridge University, Pembroke Hall especially, important for Spenser in his preparation for the high office of the New Poet? How did he acquire a sound knowledge of French and Italian? Were these among the languages encouraged by Mulcaster, or was Spenser self-taught in them ("outside the required curriculum," as Dr. Judson would have us believe, page 23)?

How did Spenser's versions from the French of Marot and DuBellay get to the attention of Van der Noot for publication in the *Theatre for Worldlings* printed by Henry Bynneman? Is there no significance in the fact that Bynneman published two of Gascoigne's works (1575, 1576), both dedicated to Grey of Wilton? Were not the printers' and booksellers' shops a meeting-place for authors, students, and booklovers,—and patrons as well? Perchance the headquarters for the exchange of manuscripts? A study of the books issued by Bynneman (and other printers) during a given period of years should prove not without avail. In the same way, the lack of a competent biography of Leicester makes itself felt in Spenser research. The attention given to music at the Merchant Taylor's School invites a study of Elizabethan musical theory and practice, —the reader will recall that several of the Greek modes are touched on by E. K. in his Commentary. The ecclesiastical Eclogues alone demand a full consideration of the religious forces of the time, as related to Spenser's ideas, not in the form of scattered essays on his "Calvinism,"

"Puritanism," or "Anglicanism," but an integrated work, above all concerned with the prelates who gathered about Young, Aylmer, Grindal, Cartwright, Whitgift, etc. Every student knows that plentiful material exists in this field. Ought it not to be brought into relation with Spenser and his works?

These are a few of the matters that need coherent and directed re-appraisal in connection with the life of Spenser. To me they seem far more important than the elusive mystery of E. K., which is still being rehashed *ad nauseam* along the traditional-academic lines,—it would appear that a fresh approach to the problem of the critical apparatus provided for the *Shepheardes Calender* is badly needed. Dr. Judson's able and judicious summation of past research may be considered a challenge to further effort that would fill the gaps.

The picture is altogether different in the second, the largest part, of Dr. Judson's biography. Here the reader profits by the author's intimate acquaintance with the history of Elizabethan Ireland and his visits to the scenes associated with Spenser and with several books of the *Faerie Queene.* Here, too, the examination of contemporary documents has yielded a more bountiful return, and the biographer has at his command a wider variety of trustworthy studies of definite topics as well as of the whole of the *View of Ireland.* Chapter IX, "The Savage Island," is excellent as a setting for Spenser's life in exile and as an account of imperialist rule. The narratives of Spenser's visits to England will not soon be improved upon. History and the contemporary scene come fully into their own in this, the richer and more satisfactory part of Dr. Judson's book.

What is the final impression that one carries away after a reading of this new *Life of Spenser?* The answer will very likely depend on one's conception of the biographer's task, bearing in mind that in the case of Spenser, as of Shakspere, we are in possession of only a scant record of personal data and outward incidents. If Dr. Judson has been rigorous in his separation of the chaff from the wheat,

if, acting on a praiseworthy principle, he has chosen to ignore a number of Spenser articles which others may think of consequence, we must conclude, I think, that his procedure is justified in view of the plethoric horror of the *omnium gatherum.* A lean diet of sound, ascertained facts is greatly to be preferred to the adipose weight of verbosely fanciful speculations.

On the other hand, some will conceive of the new biography as curiously depersonalized. They would like to be presented with the story of the gradual formation, growth, and ripening of a poet's mind and art, conditioned by a known and very real environment and by the conflict between a type of "Platonic" idealism and the hard actualities of the changing world in which the poet lived. Certain events in that very real world imposed upon Spenser the necessity of making sudden and unexpected alterations in some of his shorter poems (*e.g., Mother Hubberds Tale*) and many more in the plan and shaping of the *Faerie Queene.* The vast epic owes its confusions and lack of unity not alone to Spenser's allegoric bent, the interchanging of heroes, the substitution of Tasso for Ariosto as models, etc., but equally as much to the swift, kaleidoscopic changes in the political and historical scenes whose sudden mutations and incoherencies and unreasoned shiftings it mirrors.

A biography of the poet Longfellow which failed to give adequate attention to the books he read and those he translated would be attenuated indeed, however detailed its recital of dates and personal happenings. How much more true is this of Spenser, Milton, Browning, who, unlike Longfellow, *absorbed* the books they read. The mere characterization (p. 140): "Spenser, passionate book-lover and voracious reader," does not suffice. A Life of Spenser which does not pursue the course of his reading, which does not reveal the literary springs of his being, is like the play of *Hamlet* without Hamlet and his philosophy and psychology. More than anything else the books that appealed to Spenser's mind and imagination and satisfied his cravings were his great adventures. They determined the bent of his thoughts, his outlook upon life, the literary modes he adapted to his purpose, the accents and tones of

his speech, the subtle qualities of his style and expression. In a real sense they were the larger part of his life. Suppose a document turned up tomorrow containing proof incontrovertible that Spenser "served as tutor to Susan Watts" during his time as Bishop Young's secretary, or that he was indeed the man who married Machabyas Chylde, what weight would these "facts" bear in comparison with the history of his mental processes, his far journeyings over the seas of literature, the rich cargoes he brought back, and the "deeds," the works, which he wrought with these cargoes?

Book-learned to a degree, Spenser sums up in himself and his works the writings of a vast era extending from the classic ages through mediaeval times on the continent and in his native land, through *quattrocento* and Renaissance Italy and France, down to his own day. Almost bewildering are the literary currents that merged in him, and he was perhaps never quite able to master and digest them all and bring them to coherent integration. He would fain have portrayed the throbbing life, the men and manners of his time, as his master Chaucer did for an earlier period, but his temperament and the structure of his mind prevented. The best he could do in that direction were *Mother Hubberds Tale, Colin Clouts Come Home Again,* and parts of the *Shepheardes Calender.* Even in these there is little individual portrayal.

It is said that a great portrait painter, like John Singer Sargent, depicts not only the form and features of his sitter but discloses the condition of the mind, the secrets of the inner life. The biographer cannot content himself with a summary last-chapter sketch of the essential nature of his subject; he fulfills his duty only when he presents a sustained, developing portrait of a living person. The broad canvas at his disposal permits a full depiction of the background towards which the chief figure stands in an harmonious relation of blending and emerging. The difficulty in the case of Spenser is that early in life he had fallen under the spell of certain ancient conceptions which, though shared by some of his contemporaries, yet served to remove him, mentally at least, from the active environ-

ment about him. These conceptions he held to firmly to the end: the fickle changeableness of Fortune, the instability of mundane things, the contrast between earthly transitoriness and heavenly permanence, the belief in the imperishability of the divine "ideas" and eidolons, the hope and longing for the Sabaoth's rest and peace. In pastoral, pictorial, and allegoric vein he expressed his vision of an other worldly eternal realm existing coterminously with man's shifting and mutable state. Indiscriminately hospitable to most of the inventions and devices of the Muses, and often incapable of resisting the temptation to bring them together in incongruous juncture, he yet succeeded in imposing a semblance of order and even unity upon them through his singularly mellifluous sense of music, the magic-healing flow of harmony . . . All in all, it is a fascinating life-story that needs to be told about Edmund Spenser.
New York, N. Y.

STALE PROMONTORY

All the world is Hamlet
Now
The infinite faculty pales resolution
Stays the hand
Suffers to be hoisted by old petars.

Claudius is here efficiently despatching business
Getting approval
Twisting a few zealous Laerteses,—
Killing.
Old Polonius prates of night, day, and peace,
Advises states and hides behind the Arras.
The guts are often lugged into the neighbor room.
Fortinbras has exercised his young battalions
On a few sledded Polacks.
Denmark is a stale promontory now
And a prison.
Ophelia maddens, jangles out of tune,
Escapes to Switzerland, Lisbon, America;
Composes
Horatio stands
To tell his hundred.

The world might have done it pat
But has not.
It faces poisoned foils.
Down it goes, weak in high achievement,
Cursing spite
That ever it was made to set things right,
Dying,
Knowing Claudius, his engineers and waterflies
Too will fall.

WILLARD HALLAM BONNER

Buffalo, N. Y.

SHAKSPERE ON THE ANTE-BELLUM CHARLESTON STAGE

By W. Stanley Hoole

Charleston's early theatrical history, considered by students of the drama to be as noteworthy as that of any other American city, is said to have begun *circa* 1703 when Anthony Aston, a playwright, arrived in the southern seaport "full of Lice, Shame, Poverty, Nakedness, and Hunger— . . . turned *Player* and *Poet* and wrote one Play on the Subject of the Country."[1] Not for thirty years, however, was the walled city to have a formal theatre— the well-known Dock Street Theatre,[2] America's third playhouse.[3] But between its opening, February 12, 1736,[4] and the Civil War at least six additional theatres were erected, the last two (in 1793 and 1837, respectively) with seating capacities of 1200 each, yet the total white population of the city in 1800 was but 9000 and in 1860 had reached only 23,000.[5]

In the eighteenth century Shakspere's plays received some little attention at the hands of Charleston's theatrical producers. On April 12 and May 10, 1763, *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear* were presented by the David Douglass American Company; and in the 1773-1774 season twelve of Shakspere's plays were acted sixteen times, including (April 20, 1774) the first American production of *Julius Caesar*.[6]

It was not until the turn of the century, however, when the "star" system, or players on special engagement, was introduced, that Shakspere received fullest attention on the Charleston stage.

Between 1800 and 1860 the theatre (or theatres) of the city were annually opened for "Fall and Winter Seasons" which usually began in October or November and lasted until May or June.[7] A regular stock company, consisting of from ten to thirty members, performed almost nightly throughout the season, themselves taking all roles or, during the engagement of a special player, acting as supporting cast.

That Shakspere's plays were popular with ante-bellum Charleston audiences is putting it conservatively. Twenty-three of his dramas were produced for a total of 646 times between 1800-1860.[8] Among them was the first American presentation of *A Winter's Tale,* April 1, 1811. Although the works of scores of other leading British and American dramatists were acted in the city, not one of these authors was able to keep pace with the Poet in either the frequency of presentation of any one play or the total number of performances of all plays. Dunlap's (or Smith's) *Pizarro* was presented 88 times, 1800-1858; Bulwer-Lytton's *The Lady of Lyons* 84 times, 1838-1860; Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* 74 times, 1801-1857; and John Tobin's *The Honeymoon* 71 times, 1805-1857. Other oft-performed plays include Dunlap's *The Stranger* (70), Kenney's *Raising the Wind* (61), Coleman's *The Review* and Bickerstaff's *The Spoil'd Child* (each 56), O'Keeffe's *The Poor Soldier* (49), Knowles' *The Hunchback* (48), and Kemble's *The Day after the Wedding* (45).

The following table gives the title and number of performances of each of Shakspere's plays presented on the Charleston stage between 1800-1860.

PLAYS	1800-1819	1820-1839	1840-1860	Total
Anthony and Cleopatra	0	0	4	4
As You Like It	4	4	13	21
The Comedy of Errors	0	7	6	13
Coriolanus	3	6	1	10
Cymbeline	2	0	0	2
Hamlet	20	19	41	80
Henry IV	8	5	7	20
Henry VIII	3	2	2	7
Julius Caesar	2	8	1	11
King John	1	3	0	4
King Lear	5	10	11	26
Love's Labor's Lost	0	0	1	1
Macbeth	24	17	34	75
The Merchant of Venice	7	18	22	47
The Merry Wives of Windsor.	7	6	6	13
Much Ado About Nothing	8	14	14	36
Othello	15	21	27	63

Richard III	18	32	40	90
Romeo and Juliet	15	19	29	63
The Taming of the Shrew	19	12	19	50[9]
The Tempest	3	2	0	5
Twelfth Night	0	0	3	3
The Winter's Tale	2	0	0	2
	141	193	267	646

In addition to the above legitimate productions there were many alterations and adaptations of Shakspere's plays. Not the least important were *Shakespeare's Jubilee,* a "grand olio" in which acts or scenes from several of the plays were performed, and *Man and Wife,* or *Shakespeare's Jubilee* (Coleman).[10] *Chaos Is Come Again,* based on *Othello* (III, 3, 92), was presented twice in one month,[11] and there were frequent presentations of such farces, travesties and interludes as *All the World's a Stage* (Jackman), *To Be or Not To Be, Richard Number III* (Durivage), *Richard III on Horseback, Hamlet Travestie* (Poole), *Othello Travestie,* and *The Merchant of Smyrna,* an afterpiece perhaps based on *The Merchant of Venice.*[12]

It may be supposed that the repetition of Shakspere on the ante-bellum Charleston stage reflects in some measure the dramatic tastes of the cultured seaport, yet it must be remembered that some of these dramas may have been presented, not necessarily because of the demands of a discriminating audience, but because they included the favorite roles of the nationally or internationally famous visiting players. In such cases it was doubtless the star and not the vehicle that attracted patrons.

From April 14, 1805, when Tomas Apthorpe Cooper's *Hamlet* inaugurated the visiting star system, and April 2, 1860, when Edwin Booth and Julia Dean joined to play *Romeo and Juliet,* the Charleston theatres were continually visited by such outstanding actors and actresses of the English-speaking stage as Junius Brutus Booth, Edwin Forrest, Edmund Kean, James Hackett, James and Henry Wallack, Charles William Macready, Edward L. Davenport,

Charles Dibden Pitt, James E. Murdoch, George Vandenhoff, John Drew, John H. Dwyer, Clara Fisher, Fanny Fitzwilliams, Fanny Davenport, Anna Cora Mowatt, Annette Ince, and Eliza Logan. Each of course had one or more of Shakspere's plays in his repertoire. And between special engagements the regular stock, which from year to year included one or more widely known players, also performed Shakspere to a seemingly never tiring clientele.

Although stage histories of other southern cities are lamentably incomplete, a comparison of Shakspere's plays presented in Charleston with those acted during one decade in Nashville[13] and two decades in Richmond[14] suggests that the dramatist was extremely popular throughout the entire ante-bellum South. Indeed, famous stars "on tour" usually played the same roles from city to city. The frequency with which *Richard III, Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, Romeo and Juliet* and other choice "starring roles" were offered reemphasizes the supposition that the player and not always the play was "the thing."[15]

SUPPLEMENT

Following is a list of Shakspere's plays presented in the Charleston theatres, 1800-1861, as based on contemporary newspaper accounts.

Anthony and Cleopatra: 1855, Jan. 9, 11; 1858, Dec. 31; 1859, Jan. 4.

As You Like It: 1801, Apr. 8; 1806, Jan. 17; 1816, Jan. 26; 1818, Jan. 19; 1820, Dec. 22; 1832, Mar. 19; 1833, Mar. 27; 1839, Apr. 10; 1840, Mar. 9, Apr. 10, Dec. 23; 1846, Feb. 6; 1850, Apr. 17; 1854, Feb. 22, 24; 1855, Nov. 8, 13, 30; 1857, Feb. 6, 10; 1859, Feb. 9.

Comedy of Errors: 1828, Feb. 18, 20, 22, 28; 1836, Mar. 24; 1839, Mar. 5, 9; 1852, Mar. 17, 18; 1857, Mar. 9, 10, 12, 13.

Coriolanus: 1807, Apr. 22; 1816, Mar. 27; 1818, May 4; 1820, Mar. 8; 1824, Mar. 20, Dec. 17, 23; 1827, Dec. 7; 1838, Jan. 29; 1851, Feb. 15.

Cymbeline: 1816, Jan. 22, Nov. 29.

Hamlet: 1801, Apr. 27; 1804, May 25; 1805, Mar. 21, Nov. 28, Dec. 20, 24; 1806, Apr. 14; 1807, Apr. 9; 1808, Apr. 4; 1809, Feb. 3; 1810, Feb. 12, Mar. 30; 1812, Mar. 20; 1816, Mar. 20; 1817, Mar. 21; 1818, Feb. 6, Apr. 1, Nov. 2; 1819, Feb. 5, Apr. 13; 1820, Feb. 2; 1821, May 2, Dec. 7; 1824, Dec. 1; 1826, Mar. 31; 1827, Jan. 24, Mar. 23; 1828, Feb. 6, Dec. 3; 1831, Feb. 23; 1832, Mar. 1, 9; 1835, Mar. 27; 1837, Dec. 29; 1838, Feb. 5, 7, Mar. 6; 1839, Feb. 5, Dec. 12; 1840, Feb. 11; 1841, Apr. 26; 1842, Feb. 1, 7, 9, Dec. 23; 1844, Jan. 8, 19, Feb. 24; 1845, Nov. 20; 1846, Feb. 16, Nov. 6, Dec. 4; 1847, Jan. 18, 28, Dec. 25, 28; 1848, Feb. 22, Oct. 31; 1849, Jan. 12, 29; 1850, Feb. 8; 1851, Feb. 17; 1852, Mar. 19, 25, Dec. 17; 1853, Dec. 29; 1854, Jan. 28; 1855, Jan. 1, 8, 29, Oct. 16; 1856, Jan. 17, Dec. 1, 4; 1857, Jan. 12, Nov. 2; 1858, Dec. 15; 1859, Mar. 23, 31; 1860, Mar. 27.

Henry IV: 1806, Feb. 7, Dec. 12; 1807, May 20, Dec. 28; 1811, Apr. 24; 1815, Dec. 11; 1818, Jan. 23, Nov. 11; 1824, Mar. 12; 1831, Mar. 18; 1832, Feb. 27; 1838, Mar. 12, 16; 1842, Feb. 14, 17; 1843, Jan. 11, Dec. 20; 1845, Nov. 22; 1846, Jan. 10; 1848, Feb. 4.

Henry VIII: 1802, Apr. 12; 1817, Mar. 5, 7; 1823, Dec. 15, 29; 1850, Apr. 24; 1854, Mar. 9.

Julius Caesar: 1818, Apr. 20; 1819, Apr. 28; 1820, Feb. 11; 1824, Mar. 4, Dec. 6; 1827, Feb. 28; 1830, Feb. 12, 23; 1838, Feb. 8, Mar. 29; 1851, Feb. 13.

King John: 1805, May 31; 1823, June 9; 1824, Mar. 15; 1827, Mar. 5.

King Lear: 1807, May 13, 16; 1810, Mar. 20; 1817, Apr. 7, May 2; 1821, Apr. 16, Dec. 3; 1825, Mar. 25, 28; 1826, Mar. 20; 1827, Mar. 12; 1838, Jan. 31, Mar. 22, 27; 1839, Jan. 14; 1840, Feb. 22; 1841, Jan. 22; 1842, Feb. 16; 1844, Feb. 23, Dec. 26; 1847, Jan. 26; 1850, Feb. 9; 1852, Mar. 27; 1854, Feb. 13; 1857, Oct. 26; 1859, Apr. 5.

Love's Labor's Lost: 1860, Oct. 16.

Macbeth: 1801, Mar. 2; 1802, Feb. 9, Dec. 8; 1803, Dec. 9; 1804, Dec. 15; 1806, Jan. 24, Apr. 16, May 13, 15; 1807, Jan. 6, Apr. 28; 1808, Nov. 21; 1809, Feb. 10; 1810, Feb. 28; 1811, Apr. 8, 19; 1812, Apr. 16, 22; 1816, Feb. 5, Apr. 3, Dec. 23; 1817, Feb. 27; 1818, Mar. 27; 1819, Feb. 3; 1820, Jan. 17, Mar. 3, 22; 1821, May 26; 1823, June 25; 1824, Jan. 31, Dec. 4; 1826, Mar. 29; 1827, Jan. 31, Feb. 16; 1828, Dec. 12; 1830, Mar. 2; 1832, Mar. 13, Dec. 14; 1838, Feb. 9, Apr. 28; 1839, May 20; 1840, Feb. 15, 19; 1841, Jan. 14; 1843, Jan. 25, Apr. 29, Dec. 12; 1844, Jan. 10, Mar. 5; 1846, Feb. 4, 19; 1847, Jan. 29, Feb. 5; 1849, Jan. 8; 1850, Apr. 16, 20; 1851, Feb. 10, 18; 1853, Jan. 5, 20, Feb. 12, Nov. 14, 16, Dec. 19; 1854, Nov. 16, 23; 1855, Feb. 7, Oct. 22; 1856, Dec. 30; 1857, Jan. 13, Dec. 12; 1858, Dec. 18; 1859, Apr. 1, 4; 1860, Mar. 31.

The Merchant of Venice: 1800, Jan. 16; 1802, Apr. 28; 1803, Nov. 14; 1811, Apr. 22; 1815, Nov. 24; 1818, Jan. 16, Oct. 29; 1820, Mar. 10; 1821, Mar. 26; 1822, Feb. 27; 1825, Mar. 29; 1826, Mar. 22, Apr. 3; 1827, Apr. 6; 1829, Mar. 24, Dec. 7; 1832, Feb. 11, Dec. 15; 1833, Feb. 28; 1834, Nov. 27; 1835, Apr. 11, Nov. 19; 1838, Mar. 24; 1839, Jan. 12, Feb. 1; 1840, Feb. 12; 1841, Apr. 23; 1843, May 4; 1844, Feb. 28; 1845, Jan. 22, Nov. 11; 1846, Feb. 11; 1848, Jan. 1, Mar. 16; 1849, Jan. 15; 1851, Feb. 21, Apr. 30; 1853, Jan. 14, 18, 27, Nov. 8, Dec. 8; 1855, Feb. 8, Nov. 21, 24; 1856, Dec. 3; 1860, Apr. 3.

Merry Wives of Windsor: 1807, Mar. 2; 1820, Feb. 28; 1821, May 14, 18; 1822, Apr. 26; 1823, June 4, 11; 1842, Feb. 21, 23, 25; 1843, Dec. 22; 1855, Dec. 8, 22.

Much Ado About Nothing: 1804, Feb. 25; 1805, Mar. 1; 1807, May 27; 1816, Jan. 31, Feb. 27; 1817, Jan. 29; 1818, Feb. 9; 1819, Apr. 21; 1820, Dec. 1; 1824, Jan. 26, Nov. 29; 1827, Apr. 3, 21, 30; 1829, Apr. 3; 1832, Mar. 2; 1835, Mar. 18, 21; 1838, Jan. 4, 15, Apr. 24; 1839, May 15; 1844, Mar. 4, 15; 1846, Feb. 3, 13, Dec. 9; 1850, Mar. 14; 1852, Dec. 29; 1853, Feb. 23; 1854, Feb. 20, Nov. 22; 1855, Feb. 15; 1856, Dec. 2; 1859, Feb. 4; 1860, Mar. 23.

Othello: 1809, Jan. 30, Feb. 17; 1810, Feb. 16, Mar. 2; 1811, Mar. 23; 1812, Feb. 10, Apr. 8; 1816, Feb. 12, Mar. 25, Dec. 20; 1818, Feb. 13, Apr. 10, Nov. 9; 1819, Feb. 6, 26; 1820, Feb. 1; 1822, Mar. 1; 1824, Dec. 8; 1825, Mar. 26; 1826, Mar. 15, Apr. 7; 1827, Feb. 12, 23, Mar. 3; 1830, Feb. 5, 20; 1831, Mar. 7; 1832, Feb. 18; 1834, Oct. 23; 1835, Mar. 4, 6, 25, Nov. 17; 1836, Mar. 14; 1838, Jan. 25, Mar. 21; 1840, Dec. 29; 1841, Apr. 22; 1842, Feb. 8; 1843, Mar. 2, Dec. 16; 1844, Jan. 15, Feb. 17, Dec. 27; 1847, Jan. 25; 1848, Feb. 8; 1849, Jan. 30; 1850, Jan. 29, Feb. 15; 1851, Feb. 11, Apr. 29; 1852, Jan. 13, Mar. 23, Dec. 18, 28; 1853, Nov. 10; 1855, Jan. 30; 1856, Nov. 10, Dec. 31; 1857, Dec. 21; 1859, Mar. 28, Apr. 8; 1860, Mar. 21.

Richard III: 1800, Jan. 31; 1804, Feb. 10, 29; 1806, Jan. 29, Apr. 21, Nov. 17, Dec. 20; 1807, Apr. 17; 1808, May 23, Dec. 2; 1809, Feb. 15; 1810, Mar. 1; 1811, May 9; 1815, Nov. 27; 1816, Mar. 23; 1818, Mar. 2, Oct. 30; 1819, Feb. 8; 1820, Apr. 26; 1821, Apr. 6, 14, Nov. 29; 1822, Feb. 22; 1823, June 18, Dec. 27; 1824, Feb. 27; 1825, Feb. 9, Mar. 18; 1826, Mar. 13, Apr. 10; 1827, May 9; 1828, Feb. 11; 1829, Apr. 10, May 2; 1830, Jan. 4, Mar. 4; 1832, Feb. 13, Mar. 5; 1833, Mar. 4; 1835, Nov. 18, 21, Dec. 1; 1838, Feb. 23, Mar. 7, 20, 28; 1839, Jan. 9, 16, 31, Feb. 2; 1840, Feb. 13, 18; 1841, Jan. 21; 1843, Feb. 17, Dec. 15; 1844, Feb. 21, Mar. 13, Dec. 23, 31; 1845, Nov. 18; 1846, Jan. 21, Dec. 7; 1847, Dec. 22, 24; 1849, Feb. 2, May 28; 1850, Feb. 4, 13; 1851, Feb. 7, 20, May 7, 14; 1852, Mar. 22, 29; 1853, Jan. 11, 17, 22, 28, Mar. 2, Nov. 19, Dec. 1; 1855, Dec. 27; 1856, Feb. 2; 1857, Nov. 7; 1858, Feb. 20; 1859, Mar. 25, Apr. 2; 1860, Jan. 14, Mar. 24, 29.

Romeo and Juliet: 1803, May 6; 1804, Nov. 19; 1806, Apr. 28, Dec. 17; 1807, May 2; 1809, Feb. 20; 1810, Apr. 4; 1811, Feb. 28; 1816, Apr. 8, Nov. 25; 1817, Jan. 20, Dec. 24; 1818, Feb. 4, Apr. 14; 1819, Apr. 22; 1820, Mar. 6; 1822, May 11; 1823, June 20; 1824, Dec. 22; 1827, Feb. 26; 1828, Feb. 2, Nov. 27; 1829, Mar. 2; 1830, Feb. 25, May 17, Dec. 3; 1832, Feb. 29, Nov. 28; 1833, Mar. 2; 1835, Mar. 7, 24; 1836, Feb. 11, Mar. 3; 1839, Feb. 28; 1840, Nov. 14, 25, Dec. 24; 1842, Feb. 24; 1845, Dec. 10, 17; 1846, Jan. 17, Feb. 14, Dec. 8; 1847, Dec. 29; 1848, Oct. 28, Nov. 1; 1850,

Feb. 1, Mar. 7; 1852, Feb. 3, 25, Dec. 2; 1853, Jan. 7, Nov. 7; 1854, Mar. 2, Nov. 3, Dec. 8; 1855, Feb. 9, 22; 1856, Feb. 27; 1857, Jan. 19, May 11, Dec. 4; 1860, Apr. 2.

The Taming of the Shrew: 1801, Mar. 4, 27; 1802, Dec. 13; 1804, Apr. 12; 1805, Mar. 9; 1806, Feb. 12, May 2; 1807, Apr. 28, Dec. 19; 1809, Jan. 14, Feb. 20; 1810, Mar. 7; 1811, Apr. 1; 1812, Feb. 28; 1816, Jan. 29, Mar. 29; 1817, Feb. 12; 1818, Apr. 6; 1819, Apr. 26; 1820, Apr. 24; 1824, Apr. 28, Nov. 29; 1825, Apr. 7; 1827, Feb. 5, 19; 1828, Dec. 19; 1830, Mar. 4;1833, Jan. 4, Mar. 21; 1835, Mar. 30; 1836, Apr. 7; 1843, Jan. 14; 1844, Mar. 16; 1846, Jan. 14; 1847, Dec. 21; 1850, Mar. 23; 1851, Jan. 23, Feb. 3, 21, May 1; 1852, Dec. 17, 25; 1854, Mar. 13; 1855, Apr. 19; 1858, Feb. 19, Dec. 17; 1859, Mar. 14, 26; 1860, Mar. 30, Apr. 3.

The Tempest: 1802, May 12; 1806, Mar. 31; 1818, Apr. 29; 1839, Apr. 8, 11.

Twelfth Night: 1846, Feb. 12; 1855, Nov. 26, 27.

A Winter's Tale: 1811, Apr. 1, 17.

University of Alabama
University, Ala.

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[1]George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927—), I, 7.

[2]See *Life*, III, 49-50 (December 20, 1937) for an account of the recent restoration of the Dock Street Theatre.

[3]The first is said to have been in Williamsburg, Va., in the late 1720's; the second in New York City sometime before 1732 (Odell, *op. cit.*, 9-10).

[4]It opened with Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer*. This, however, was not the first Charleston performance. A year earlier, January 24, 1735, the first theatrical season, complete with the first American prologue, was held in the Council Chambers of the Colony's Court-House (*ibid.*, I, 19-20).

[5]W. Stanley Hoole, "Two Famous Theatres of the Old South," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXXVI, 273-277 (July, 1937).

[6]Eola Willis, *The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century* (Columbia, 1924), pp. 44, 73-74. The plays presented were: *Hamlet*, Dec. 24, 1773; *Cymbeline*, Jan. 21, Apr. 29; *Henry IV*, Feb. 17; *Julius Caesar*, Apr. 20; *King John*, May 19; *King Lear*, Mar. 12; *Macbeth*, Apr. 22; *The Merchant of Venice*, Jan. 29; *Othello*, Feb. 24; *Richard III*, Jan. 31; *Romeo and Juliet*, Jan. 27, Mar. 26; *The Tempest*, Feb. 2, 12, Mar. 14, 1774.

[7]There was a season every year except 1813-1814, 1814-1815, and during 1835-1836 the theatre degenerated into what approximated a circus side-show.

[8]This figure represents the professional performances only and does not include local amateur productions such as that of *Macbeth*, May 23, 1838, by a home-talent theatrical group.

[9]This figure includes *Catherine and Petruchio*, David Garrick's adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*. It was usually advertised as Shakspere's, however.

[10]Apr. 14, 1800; Apr. 30, 1804; Apr. 28, 1812; and Apr. 28, 1824.

[11]Mar. 12-13, 1840.

[12]*All the World's a Stage*: Mar. 5, 23, Dec. 22, 1802; Dec. 9, 1803; Jan. 3,

1806; Jan. 28, 1811; Nov. 27, Dec. 1, 1845; Feb. 12, 1847; *To Be or Not to Be*: Feb. 11-12, 1839; *Richard Number III*: Dec. 29-30, 1843; *Richard III on Horseback*: Nov. 11, 1859; *Hamlet Travestie*: Feb. 28, 1818; May 8, 1822; Dec. 10, 1828; Mar. 12, 27, 1832; *Othello Travestie*: Apr. 18, 20, 21, 1857; *The Merchant of Smyrna*: May 20, 1801.

[13]Douglas L. Hunt, "The Nashville Theatre, 1830-1840," *Birmingham-Southern College Bulletin,* XXVIII, 3-88 (May, 1935).

[14]Martin Staples Shockley, "Shakespere's Plays in the Richmond Theatre, 1819-1838," *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin,* XV, 88-94 (April, 1940).

[15]This paper is based on the author's manuscript, *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre,* written under the sponsorship of the Rockefeller Foundation, and to be published by the University of Alabama Press early in 1946.

INFORMATION WANTED

To meet the requirements of scholars engaged in certain researches, we would be very grateful to persons sending us information regarding Shakspere clubs and associations in America. The information required includes the following data: Name and address of the club or association, whether incorporated, date when organized, number of members, name of chairman or president, name and address of secretary, dues per annum, frequency of meetings, purpose of the organization, character of Shakspere study, list of publications (if any) by members or the association, list of members and their occupations or professions.

Send information to the editor, Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum, 601 West 113th St., New York 25, N. Y.